PORTSMOUTH AND THE EAST INDIA COMPANY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

James H. Thomas

THE PORTSMOUTH PAPERS

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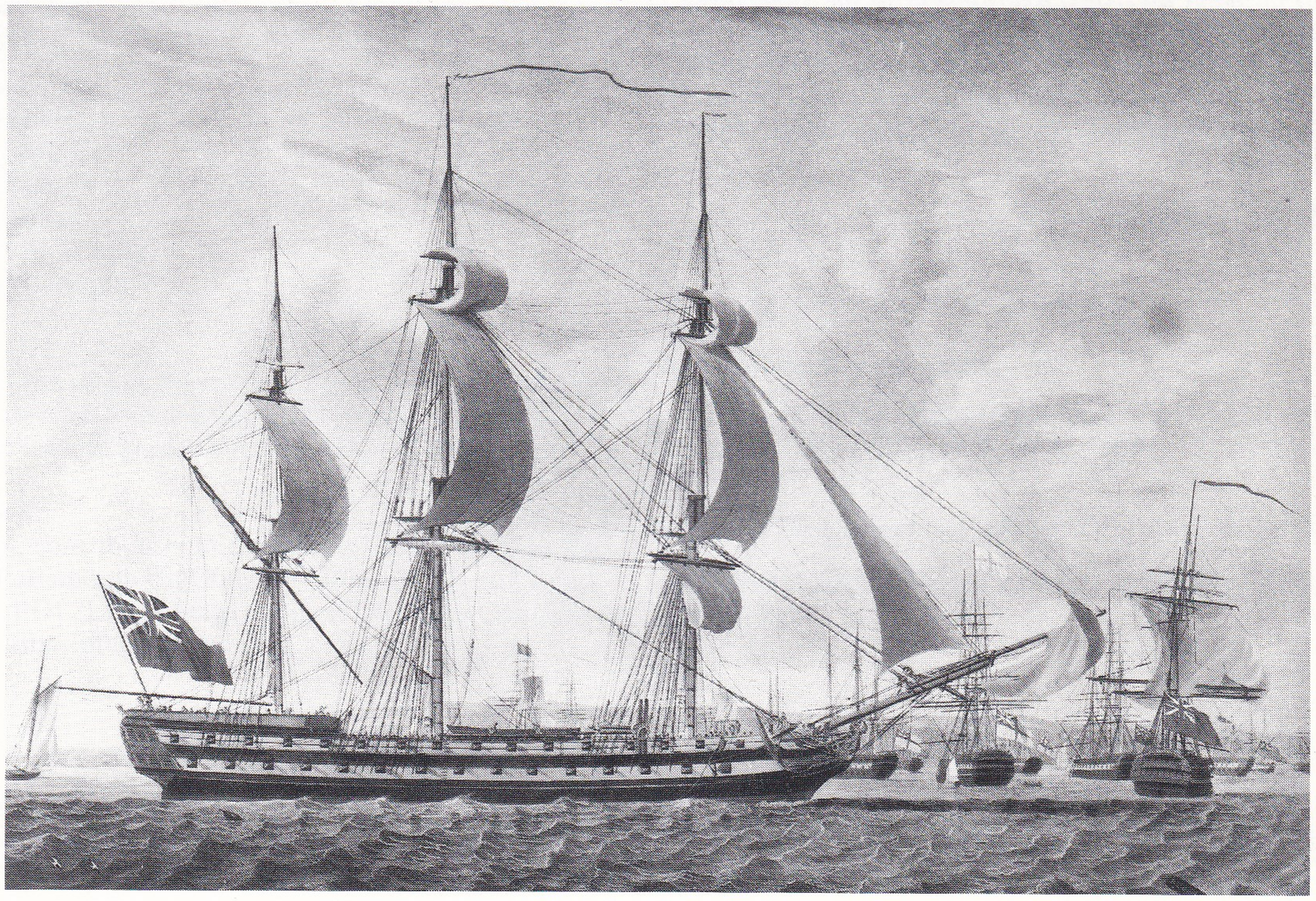

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Summary

During the eighteenth century England's most powerful trading concern - the East India Company - used Portsmouth as its major provincial depot. There developed a relationship between Company and town that was complex, rich, significant in impact and, at times, fraught with friction. That relationship is here examined and assessed thematically, via consideration of such elements as the servicing infrastructure, employment opportunities, particularly agency work, investment, shipment of goods, smuggling and the impact on local lifestyles. Recruitment to the Company's military, marine and bureaucratic services brought further opportunities and problems for Portsmouth. So, too, did visits from vessels of the rival companies spawned by the United Provinces and Sweden. The Paper aims to fill an important gap in the Company's history.

Cover:
An East Indiaman coming to an anchor at Spithead, 1797, by Robert Dodd.
British Library

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Portsmouth and the East India Company in the Eighteenth Century

by James H. Thomas, B.A., Ph.D., F.R.Hist.S.

Writing in the late 1820s, statistician and political economist J. R. McCulloch observed:

> A Company which carries a sword in one hand, and a ledger in the other - which maintains armies and retails tea, is a contradiction.[1]

Astute though his observation may have been, it did not convey the full significance of the venture concerned - the East India Company. While its activities have been recorded, mapped, analysed and criticised by numerous historians, there remain significant gaps in this commercial enterprise's published story. One such lacuna results from the paucity of attention paid to the Company's relationship with the provinces with regard to the use of particular ports, involvement in urban life, investment patterns, employment possibilities, and recruitment to the Company's substantial maritime and military services. This paper will attempt to begin filling this gap by examining the East India Company's relationship with Portsmouth during the eighteenth century.

During that period, Portsmouth grew in both size and importance. Dockyard town, major garrison, port and thriving urban community, Portsmouth afforded contemporaries a unique example of civic, military and naval complexity. In the eighteenth century real power in the town lay in the hands of three men - the yard commissioner, the garrison governor and the mayor - each of whom thought he was more important than his two *confrères*. As a result, there developed a pattern of relationships riven with tensions.[2] Major departure point for expeditionary forces, a port involved in both coastal and overseas trades, Portsmouth was also the 'diplomatic key' to England. Crowned heads, diplomats and senior service officers were regular visitors. To the townsfolk - James Wolfe's 'diabolical citizenry' - such comings and goings were a feature of life to which they became inured. Foreign money, obtainable in the High Street for long voyages, also turned up in the small change of Portmuthians. Resident interpreters, translators and appropriately named drinking establishments reminded townsfolk of far-flung, exotic connections. Vessels employed by the great contemporary trading ventures - Hudson's Bay, Levant and Royal African Companies - frequently rode at anchor at Spithead or utilised the harbour and littoral facilities. Of all these concerns, however, it was the East India Company that exerted the most impact upon Portsmouth. The relationship that developed between town and Company was complex, far-reaching in effect, and one of which local residents were acutely aware.

Though Portsmouth had links with the Company that stretched back to 1608,[3] it was only after 1650, and more so after 1700, that they assumed solidity and permanence. The impact upon the town of this relationship can be examined in various ways. A symbiotic service infrastructure developed, involving local carriers, innkeepers, brewers and other workers. Company officials, passengers, servants, agents, military and naval personnel and lascars made their way to Portsmouth in preparation for the long journey to the East *via* St Helena and the Cape of Good Hope. The conveyance of many of these people to Portsmouth in the 1670s had been handled by the Ridge family.[4] On occasion, potential passengers would travel as far as the town and then seek Company permission to sail to India. It was from Portsmouth early in 1729, for example, that Mrs Martha Simpson wrote to the Court of Directors in London: 'I humbly beg Your Honours would please to give me leave to take Passage on the Eyles for Fort St George, and you would very much oblige ...'[5] Waiting for a ship in eighteenth-century Portsmouth was not, however, a pleasant way of passing the time. A would-be passenger destined for America observed in July 1702 'things are soe Excessive dear at this place', while nine years later Portsmouth was described as 'one of the most disagreeable places in England'.[6] Daniel Southwell, who had but recently returned to Portsmouth from New South Wales in 1789, observed, 'my dearly earned Wages are flying away at a fine rate but I hope soon to be amongst Friends and not Extortioners'.[7]

Many people destined for St Helena, India and beyond made use of the town's ubiquitous inns, which were constantly busy, particularly during wartime. 'The inns and taverns are perpetually crowded', a Portuguese visitor observed in the 1730s, 'but their bills are not the most moderate'.[8] One such establishment frequently used was the *George* in the High Street, the scene of a rather unseemly incident in April 1777. John Sutton, commander of the East Indiaman the *Duke of Portland*, explained what happened:

> ... sometime in the Month of April ... I was in Company with Captain John Atkinson Blanshard of the York Indiaman at the George Inn at Portsmouth, when Mr Francis Weldon who was going out passenger in the York abruptly came in and join'd our Company, it was then near twelve at midnight, and he appear'd to have been drinking freely, that he began a conversation of a very quarrelsome nature ...

Sutton subsequently advised Blanshard against taking Weldon as a passenger 'as he would certainly cause a great deal of uneasiness in the Ship'.[9]

While carriers and innkeepers made money from Company presence and activities, so, too, did other locals. The Company purchased food and drink supplies locally to meet its needs. Gosport-based brewer Captain Henry Player received £35 10*s*. for beer provided to the Company in 1706. George Higginson, a local farmer, was paid in 1760 for supplying fresh provisions. Local attorneys acted on behalf of Company seamen attempting to obtain back wages.[10]

Company impact on Portsmouth, however, went further than this. Employment and investment possibilities were created. The key figure in many aspects of the relationship between town and

Company was the local agent. Over many years, the East India Company fostered and administered a complex organisation entailing the appointment of agents at home and abroad. Details are tabulated below, from which it will become apparent that Portsmouth was part of a large operation.

Table 1

East India Company Agencies

1. Agencies in Britain

Appledore	1796	Kinsale	1708
Bristol	1803-1815	Limerick	1758-1815
Cork	1706-1815	Margate	1810-1815
Cowes	1709-?	Milford	1812-1815
Dartmouth	1803-1815	Plymouth	1695-1815
Deal	1704-1815	Portsmouth	1640-1815
Falmouth	1803-1815	Torbay	1803-1815
Gravesend	1703-1796	Weymouth	1815

2. Agencies Overseas

Aleppo	1803-1815	Constantinople	1803-1815
Baghdad	1803-1815	Isle of France (Mauritius)	1814-1815
Bussorah	1803-1815	Malta	1805-1815
Cairo	1804-1815	Rio De Janeiro	1808-1815
Cape of Good Hope	1803-1815	Venice	1783-1806
		Vienna	1762-1815

Sources: B/41, 44, 47-8, 66, 76, 122, East India Company Court Minutes, Apr. 1695 - Apr. 1796, passim; E/1/3, 41, 44, 73, Miscellaneous Letters Received 1711; 1758-9; 1762; 1783 passim; *The East-India Register & Directory* (1803-1816), passim.

The table presents three clear traits - the extent and complexity of the agency network, the development of many of them during the period of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, and the long established nature of those in Plymouth and Portsmouth. That the Portsmouth agency is the oldest of all is even more telling.

Of the agents based in the thirteen locations used in the southern half of England and Wales, those in Portsmouth worked in the Company's most important provincial depot. During the eighteenth century eight men were thus employed, each different in character, attributes and achievements. Their identities are tabulated in Table 2.

Table 2

East India Company Agents in Portsmouth 1695-1815

Identity	Occupation/Status	Date
William Cooper	Dockyard Storekeeper	1695-1709
Thomas Blackley	Gentleman	1709-1721
John Mellish	Agent for Admiralty Droits	1721-1723
James Harman	Merchant	1723-1726
James Blackley	Gentleman	1726-1731
George Huish (sen.)	Attorney and Town Clerk	1731-1746
George Huish (jun.)	Attorney and Town Clerk	1746-1788
Andrew Lindegren	Merchant, Prize Agent and Banker	1788-1815

Sources: B/41-122, East India Company Court Minutes, Apr. 1695-Apr. 1796, passim; E/1/1-42, 79-83, Miscellaneous Letters Received 1701-1760; 1786-9, passim; *Calendar of Treasury Books 1706-1707*, p. 421.

How did such a diverse group come to be appointed as agents?[11] Given that the Company set great store by both competence and honesty, previous successful service counted for much. This explained George Huish's deft succession to his father in 1746. In turn, Huish (sen.) had acted as deputy to his four predecessors. Self promotion was also involved, Thomas Blackley taking over in November 1709 at his own suggestion! The duties involved were demanding and certainly required both ability and scrupulous honesty. Company mail had to be put aboard ships, collected and distributed. Any local development, even if this only amounted to a slight change in wind direction in the port, had to be reported to the Court of Directors. Wages had to be checked, large sums of money handled and the loading of silver supervised. At the very least, the duties demanded alertness, business acumen, literacy, numeracy, and the flexibility to deal with people ranging from Company directors and genteel ladies to wind-burned sea-captains, lascars and Malays, as well as awesome Hessian and Swiss soldiery and Highlanders.

The complex, extensive, network of Company operations and outposts meant that handling the mail was a demanding responsibility. Official instructions for the Company's growing bureaucratic army, letters of introduction, treaty and allied proposals, correspondence between loved ones, merchants and religious missionary groups - all were of vital import. Beyond responsibility, the task's sheer volume needs to be borne in mind. When the *Houghton* arrived in Portsmouth in January 1791 she was carrying papers 'stated to have weighed above four tons'[12]; some 2,000 letters had to be taken by wagon to the Post Office in London. Once outward-bound Company letters reached Portsmouth, delivery to the appropriate vessel and individual was vital. A complaint lodged in March 1711 sheds light on the entire process. Under scrutiny was Portsmouth's postmaster, John Gayton, who wrote at length to the Post Office Commissioners:

In answer to yours of the 17th this waites on your hon(ou)rs Intreating you would believe me Innocent: and that I would not upon any consideration be guilty of what I am Here Charg(e)d w(i)th this Letter of Mr Blakelys from the East India Directors, was Indeed deliver'd open, but upon my word, It was soe, when It came to my hands, the Seal being Crack(e)d in the Maile and there is hardly a Post but there are letters either defacd or broke open by the Continuall Rubbing of itt - w(ha)t ever Mr Blakley suggest ab(ou)t other Letters of his being Serv'd soe. I do assure your Hon(ou)rs to the Contrary and that this was the very first that Came to his hands after this Manner. S(i)r John Gibson and the Commissioner have had sever(a)ll; in this Condition,and they are satisfied that this is the True occasion.

As for the other Complaint made by Capt(ain) Austen of the Jane Frigatt his was very rash and Groundless - His Purser having at the same time the letters he miss(e)d which since the Arrival of the Ship at Spitthead, have been deliver(e)d by him to the said Capt(ai)n. I beg once more that your Hon(ou)rs would believe that I would not be obnoxious in any thing that might reflect upon you: for reposeing that high trust in me your are pleased to doe; ...[13]

Trust was indeed the key element, and while local agents' bills included a regular entry, usually monthly, for the postage of letters, every effort was made to ensure a swift, smooth-flowing postal link between Portsmouth and London. Tardiness with regard to the onward transmission of incoming mail from the town to London met with swift rebuke.[14] Indeed, various attempts were made to improve the system. The Company attempted a private delivery service, employing India House messengers in the mid-1770s, only to meet with Post Office disapproval and the threat of both legal and financial sanctions.[15] Aware that the service could also be improved between Portsmouth and scattered Company outposts, Paul Le Mesurier submitted proposals which, if implemented, would 'prevent all Disappointments'.[16] The agent was certainly kept very active delivering mail and packages and conducting his own correspondence with the Company. Furthermore, in the period prior to the sailings for the Season, such activity was intensified. Table 3, showing sailings from Portsmouth for March - June 1803, provides clear supporting evidence:

Table 3
Sailings from Portsmouth March-June 1803

Sailed	Vessel	Commander	Destination
24 March	*Charlton*	Thomas Walladvice	Bengal
7 April	*Exeter*	Henry Meriton	China
12 April	*Hugh Inglis*	William Fairfax	Coast & Bay
12 April	*Calcutta*	William Maxwell	Coast & Bay
27 April	*Lord Castlere*	George Robertson	Coast & Bay
27 April	*Earl Howe*	Robert Burrowes	Coast & Bay
20 May	*Woodford*	James Martin	China
21 June	*Comet*	James Moring	St Helena & Bengal
30 June	*Essex*	George Bonham	Bombay
30 June	*Lord Melville*	Charles Lennox	Bengal
30 June	*Earl Spencer*	Charles Raitt	Bengal
30 June	*Princess Mary*	Andrew Grieve	Bengal
30 June	*Tigris*	Charles Graham	Madeira & Bengal
30 June	*Glory*	Thomas Taylor	Madras & Bengal
30 June	*Ann*	Thomas Price	Bombay
30 June	*General Stuart*	Thomas Mortimer	Madeira, Madras & Bengal
30 June	*Northampton*	Robert Barker	Bengal
30 June	*Euphrates*	?	Bengal
30 June	*Admiral Apin*	John Rogers	Madras & Bengal

Source: J. Mathison and A. W. Mason, *East India Registry and Directory for 1803* (2nd edn.), two pages, without no., after p. xxviii.

The hectic scale of such activity demonstrates clearly how busy the agent must have been kept. Looking after the mail, however, was just one of his responsibilities.

Company agents were themselves expected to be good letter writers, keeping their London employers informed of Portsmouth developments, wind pattern changes, yard repair work, sales and so on. Agents George Huish (jun.) and Andrew Lindegren were particularly active in this regard. In March 1761 alone Huish sent twenty letters to the Company. Between January and May 1787 he wrote on seventeen occasions. Equally energetic and conscientious, Lindegren wrote 53 letters to the Company between November 1795 and March 1796.[17] Huish widened his letter writing and responsibilites to act for both Lord Clive and Warren Hastings. On 11 June 1764 he dispatched, by Clark's wagon, Lady Clive's baggage and plate, nineteen packages or parcels in all, for London. [18] He also acted as intermediary to facilitate corresponsence with Warren Hastings in India.[19] Being a Company agent, however, involved other duties and responsibilities as well.

One activity, in particular, caused insomnia for Portsmouth agents - supervision of silver-loading operations. Substantial amounts of silver were dispatched through the town for two very practical reasons. The marauding privateers from Ostend, St Malo, Dunkirk and Zealand could be avoided, while the safety of naval convoying to Land's End and beyond meant relative protection from the corsairs of the North African Regencies of Tripoli, Algiers and Tunis and from the freebooting, piratical stronghold of Sallee. The silver was needed in India for various Company mints operating in the sub-continent and for use by diamond merchants in their lucrative trade. The quantities moved to Portsmouth were substantial. In February 1706, some £20,000 worth of bullion was sent from London by road for loading aboard the *Tankerville* and the *Halifax*.[20] The absence of banks in

George Huish to Mr Kelsall, 11 June 1764, regarding Lady Clive's baggage and plate.
Shropshire Record Office

Portsmouth 11th June 1764

Sir

By Direction of Mr James Finlay belonging to the East India Company I have by Messrs Clarkes Waggon which set out this Day and will be at the Kings Head Southwark Wednesday Afternoon sent you Lady Clives Baggage Plate &c consisting of Nineteen Packages or Parcels all directed to yourself at Lord Clives in Berkley Square, and for which I have paid £12. 4s. 6 for Carriage Insurance &c as you'll see by the accompanying Receipt, the Goods being rated at 4s p Cwt and the Insurance at ¼ p Cent on £2000. Value; The whole is under Seal of the Custom House here and by Order of the Board must be carried to the Kings Warehouse London; I hope you'll receive all safe, which shd be glad to hear, and Lord Clives Man goes in the Waggon with it. I am

Sir

Your most Humble Servt

Jas Huish

Portsmouth until October 1787, however, presented a further problem. With a reputation for violence, lawlessness, friction and high prices, Portsmouth was hardly the most suitable place in which to store substantial sums of silver! The dispatch of silver from London for Surat in March 1709 was accompanied by instructions about safe-keeping in Portsmouth. The bullion was to be lodged in the house of Jeyes Seawell, who would be rewarded with a quarter per cent of the value for his 'care in keeping the said Silver'.[21] The sense of responsibility and degree of activity involved could be substantial. Between 3 April 1746 and 18 February 1747 George Huish supervised the loading of 369 chests of silver aboard ten India-bound vessels at Portsmouth.[22]

For all their onerous duties, agents did not receive a salary but were rewarded instead by a judicious combination of commission, outlay reimbursement and gratuities as warranted. In May 1726 widow Sarah Harman wrote to the Company, pointing out that she had been left with 'a Large family, of small Children'. Her husband, she maintained, 'had never had one farthing, since he had, the Honour of being agent to the Honourable Company...' In March 1727 she received the 20-guinea balance of fees due to him.[23] Agent Huish did not worry excessively about being paid by the Company, returning rather nonchalantly in December 1787 his accounts for the previous four and half years.[24] Clearly there was much for the Agent to do. Duties were onerous and needed meticulous attention. Moreover, they had to be discharged to a standard guaranteed to satisfy exacting Company masters in London. It says much for those who discharged the office in Portsmouth that no one was dismissed. While speaking volumes for choice of appointment, sheer industry and ability, it also stands in marked contrast to the conventional image of late Stuart and Hanoverian Portsmouth. Furthermore, agents invariably undertook their responsibilities as an addition to many other activities. An examination of the work of Andrew Lindegren, agent between 1788 and 1815, makes this abundantly clear.

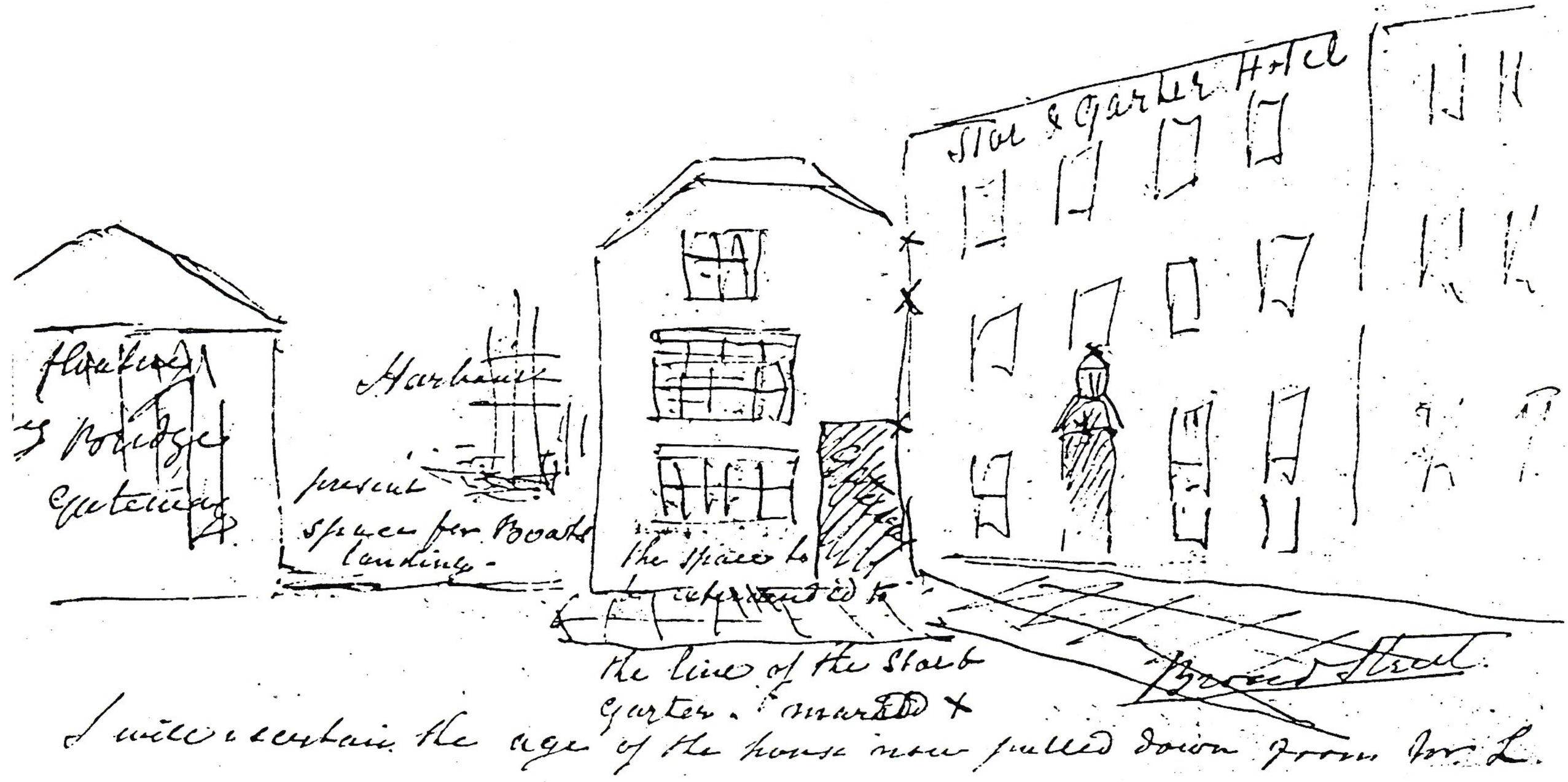
One of three brothers, Lindegren belonged to a successful London commercial family. His namesake father traded as a Swedish iron ore merchant in Cullum Street from at least 1740, and had gone into business with his brother Charles in Dunster's Court, Mincing Lane, in 1749. By the mid-1760s, they had expanded their business premises to include Red Bull wharf fronting onto the Thames. Charles Lindegren was to go from strength to strength, specialising in insurance and serving as a Director of the Royal Exchange Assurance Company from July 1768. Business expanded still further when Andrew Lindegren formed a further partnership with Claes Grill from 1777 onwards. Born c.1753, Andrew Lindegren (jun.) entered the world of business at 20 when he appears to have taken over the running of his father's business at Dunster's Court.[25] By the late 1770s he had moved to Portsmouth where, in November 1778, he was elected to the Improvement Commission.[26] By the early 1780s, however, the strains of running an over-extended business empire were beginning to become apparent. In 1783 he suffered a double blow. His father died in Portsmouth and in the October he went bankrupt, both in his own right and in the business he was operating from Mincing Lane with his uncle Charles Lindegren.[27] Three assignees were appointed - London merchants, Theophilus Christian Blanckenhagen and Charles Broughton and Portsmouth draper Thomas Sharp. Well over £750 was owed to eleven creditors, including Gosport merchant Samuel Jellicoe who wanted £114 9*s*. 9*d*., Blanckenhagen himself who sought £300 and draper Sharp who wanted £149 19*s*. 6*d*. Others included a slopseller, a merchant and a seedsman - all from London.[28] Although the process to resolve the bankruptcy was protracted, Lindegren pursued his affairs on various other fronts.

By 1788, he had fought his way back from bankruptcy to respectability, to become East India Company agent in Portsmouth, acquiring the position upon George Huish's death. From the outset, Lindegren demonstrated zeal, conscientiousness and great attention to detail, precisely the qualities which would have helped him secure the agency initially.[29] He was at great pains, for example, to point out that packets from the Nabob of Arcot for George III and Queen Charlotte had been carefully dispatched to London accompanied 'by an Officer of our Customs'.[30]

His expenses for autumn and winter 1791 provide some insight into his manifold responsiblities. There was outlay of 10*s*. 6*d*. in early October for the collection of Company dispatches which had been brought from India by the *Eliza*, a Danish Indiaman. In December, packets had to be collected from the 4th rate *Leopard* and sent by 'an Express and Carriage' to East India House in London, a task that involved an outlay of £14 15*s*. 1*d*. At the tail end of that month he had to pay boathire, twice, to go out to the Dutch East Indiaman *Schonderloo* which had arrived from Batavia.[31] Such were his commitment, dedication and skill, that he was to serve as Company agent for forty years, being assisted during the last two decades by his son John. Lindegren was also helped in his work indirectly by having brother John who operated the London end of the family business following their uncle's death in mid-November 1790, and another, Charles, in the Company's sea service.

Andrew Lindegren's business activities in Portsmouth and Gosport were both extensive and complex. His mercantile interests ranged from handling ship sales to subscribing £50 to a scheme for supplying Portsmouth with herrings from the Firth of Forth in December 1800. Operating wharves in both Gosport and Portsmouth, he dealt extensively in Baltic naval supplies with an imports network that embraced Danzig, Norway, Riga, Russia and Sweden. There were trading interests elsewhere too. He imported turtles, cotton, lignum vitae for use as ship's blocks, mahogany, indigo, wax, copper, grapes and raisins.[32] The income derived from these sources could be added to that raised from naval prize agency. In 1793, for example, he acted for eight vessels. Two years later he acted for another two - *London* and *Phaeton*.[33]

Sketch by R. H. C. Ubsdell of Andrew Lindegren's house (centre) at the seaward end of Broad Street. The building was demolished 16 July 1840.
Portsmouth City Records Office



His property interests in the town were similarly extensive. By 1805 these included houses, stores and coach houses in Sagor's Court, High Street, East Street, and Broad Street, at the seaward end of which stood his principal residence.[34] To many of his local contemporaries he stood as the quintessence of application and success.

Beyond agency work, other employment possibilities presented themselves. Given that the Company developed its own bureaucracy, naval and military forces, recruitment into one of these branches presented opportunities for enrichment. A major attraction for entering East India Company service was a pension and the possibility of participating in a very advanced social welfare scheme. There were jobs to be had in the Company's local warehouses, the organisational structure of which replicated on a small scale the substantial complex in London. Jobs as messengers abounded, while hoymen could count on regular employment as they scurried between Company vessels, hovered near impressive Indiamen, or chased them to deliver important packages, mail and late-arriving passengers. Even the Post Office clerk benefited with a regular Christmas box of 2*s*. 6*d*. Local residents acted as sureties for people entering Company service. When, in December 1709, Francis Kennedy was to go as a factor to Bencoolen, his two securities were his brothers, one a Gentleman Pensioner to Queen Anne, the other a Portsmouth army captain. When securities were approved in January 1761 enabling Robert Palk to serve on the Fort St George Council, they were each named in the sum of £4,000 as Timothy Brett of the Navy Office and Charles Brett of Portsmouth, Esquire.[35]

Investment opportunities also presented themselves, the Company being considered the safest, and most profitable, concern in which to sink money during this period. An indeterminate number of Portmuthians invested. Some held modest amounts of stock, others sufficient to vote in the elections for Company directors. William Pavey of Portsmouth appointed London goldsmith Thomas Moseley to transfer his £200 worth of stock in March 1721. The younger George Huish maintained £1,661 17*s*. 2*d*. worth of stock in his portfolio between July 1785 and his death three years later.[36] One local investor of particular import was Thomas Fitzherbert. Gentleman farmer, with a residence at Stubbington Lodge in modern-day North End, he was also a dockyard contractor and M.P. for Arundel. In June 1786 he was summoned to the Commons for the third reading of a bill affecting the Company. Ten months later he was one of eighteen scrutineers appointed to supervise the election of six new Company directors.[37] Those investors with sufficient stock were empowered to vote in the General Court for appointment of directors. Only a small number of Portmuthians were, however, in a position to do so, as the next Table indicates:

East Indiaman The Earl of Abergavenny *off Southsea, 1801, by Thomas Luny.*
British Library

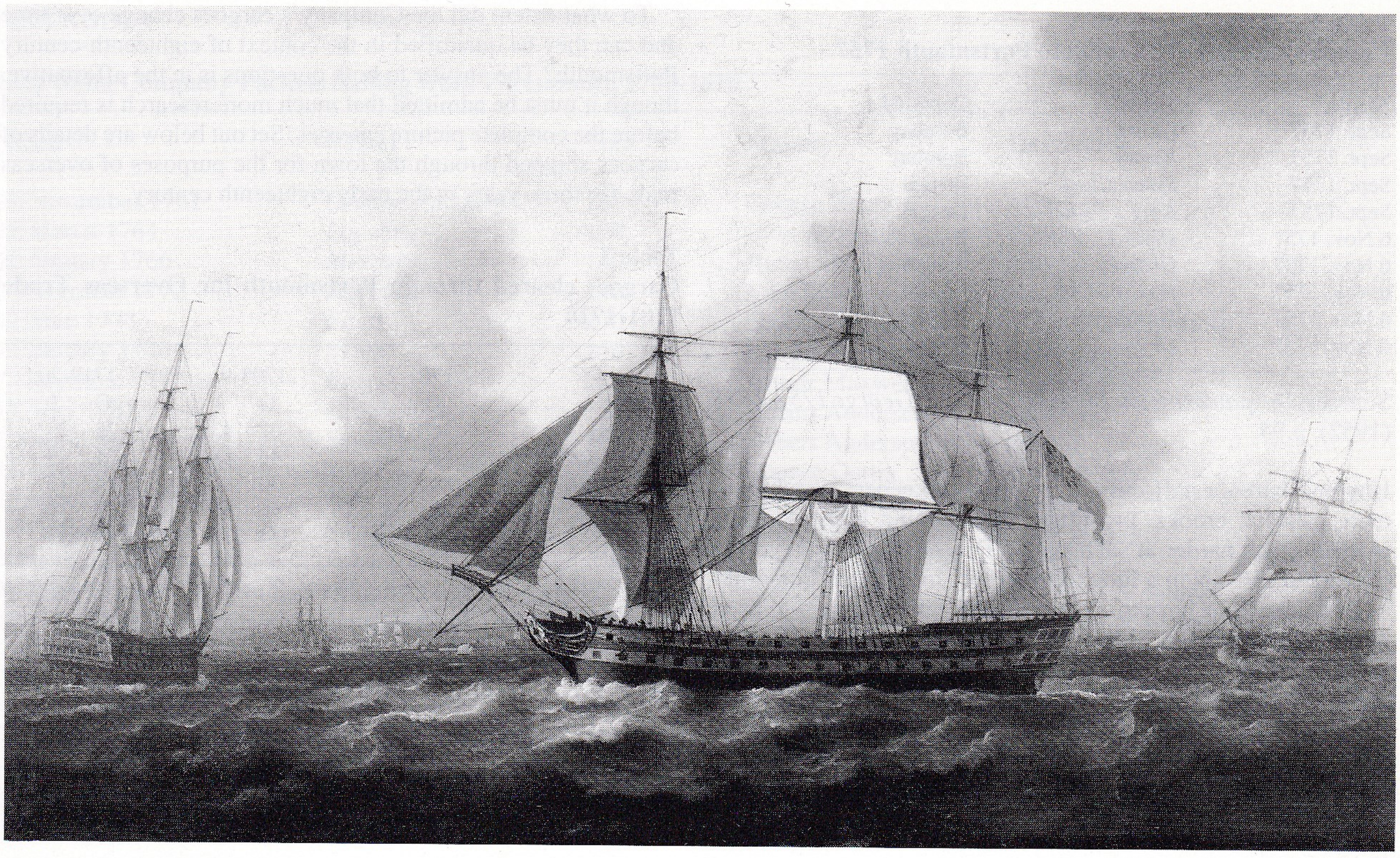


Table 4
Major Investors in East India Company Stock, 1795-1837

Year	Portsmouth Investors	Status/Occupation
1795	Lucy Grant	Spinster
1806	William Bayly	Headmaster, Naval Academy
1837	Major General Thomas McMahon	Lieutenant Governor

Sources: *A List of Names of Members of the United Company of Merchants Trading to the East Indies* (1795), p.31; *A List of Names* ... (1806), p.7; *A List of Names* ... (1837), p.61.

Such was the nature of the relationship between the town and the Company that answers are also required to certain other key questions. What cargoes were being shipped through Portsmouth by the Company? Did they change over time? Was everything shipped in and out legally? What was the impact on local lifestyles? As would be expected in a lucrative trade such as that to the East, where profits could be exceptionally high, cargoes on outward- and inward-bound vessels varied considerably.

Outward-bound Company vessels leaving London carried cargoes ranging from carriages for officials in India to religious texts for the spiritual improvement of Company servants and, perhaps, of some natives, from pictures and books to a tombstone sent by a lamenting mother for her dead soldier son on St Helena. Some commodities were loaded aboard in Portsmouth. Numerous items were dispatched by road for loading aboard the *Nathanial* in April 1709 - cutlery, saddles, scales, pewterware, drums, buckets, glassware, including hourglasses, and firearms. Lead, both sheet and bar, was also supposed to go, though agent William Cooper protested his inability to purchase any such supplies locally.[38]

Cargoes arriving at Portsmouth from the East were rather different in nature. When Lord Clive arrived in Portsmouth on 14 July 1767 aboard the *Britannia* Indiaman, the cargo included raw silk, redwood and saltpetre.[39] When the *Scarborough* and the *Lady Penrhyn* returned from China in 1789, they carried silver, china, tea and chests of skins.[40] Port activity and business were at fever pitch when a fleet of Indiamen returned. Set out below are the vessels returning in September and November 1757 alone.

Table 5
Company Vessels Returning to Portsmouth 1757

Arrived	Vessel	Departed
Sept. 1757	*Clinton*	Bombay
Sept. 1757	*Hector*	Bombay
Sept. 1757	*Syren Sloop*	Bengal
Sept. 1757	*King's Fisher*	Bengal
6 Nov. 1757	*Oxford*	Bencoolen
6 Nov. 1757	*Delawar*	Bengal
6 Nov. 1757	*Harcourt*	China
6 Nov. 1757	*Stormont*	China
6 Nov. 1757	*Griffin*	China

Sources: *Despatches from England to Fort St George 1757-1758* (1952), p.94.

Hoymen, harbour staff, customs officers, innkeepers, warehousemen, carriers, crooks, prostitutes and lodging house keepers worked much harder at such times. This becomes apparent by looking at arrivals in a little more detail. Just before Christmas 1779 the *Warwick* hove to off the Isle of Wight, having convoyed nine Company vessels from St Helena in exactly two months. The first lieutenant was sent off to London with news and documentation 'to give you the earliest notice', while Captain Richard Collins provided details of the escorted vessels. To these have been added elements drawn from another source, and the result is set out in Table 6, below:

To what extent did the Company's cargoes change over time and can they be quantified in the context of eighteenth-century Portsmouth? The answer to both questions is in the affirmative, though it must be admitted that much more research is required before the complete picture emerges. Set out below are details of cargoes shipped through the town for the purposes of overseas trade for three years in the early eighteenth century.

Table 7
Cargoes cleared through Portsmouth for Overseas Trade 1701-1720

	1701-2		1708-9		1719-20	
Quarter	O	I	O	I	O	I
Lady Day	6	18	62	43	28	29
Midsummer	8	24	46	88	25	49
Michaelmas	4	24	30	84	14	43
Christmas	8	34	96	60	7	31
Totals	26	100	234	275	74	152

Source: Public Record Office E190/844/3; E190/851/7; E190/861/6, Port Books for Portsmouth (Overseas) 1701-2, 1708-9, 1719-20.

'O' = Outwards 'I' = Inwards

Note: Movements of French, Portuguese and Spanish Wines have been discounted from the calculations.

Table 6
East India Company ships arriving off Isle of Wight, 23 December 1779

Vessel	Owner	Commander	Sailed	Returned	Lading	Guns	Men	Tons
Gatton	George Willson	Job Strong[1]	Portsmouth 27.4.1778	Coast & Bay	Bale Goods	26	99	758
Glatton	Richard Neave	Richard Doveton	Plymouth 2.2.1778	Coast & China	China Cargo	26	99	758
Godfrey	William Godfrey	Francis Reed	Plymouth 9.2.1778	Coast & Bay	Bale Goods	26	99	716
Hilsborough	Charles Foulis	Pitt Collett	Plymouth 9.2.1778	Coast & China	China Cargo	26	99	723
Mounstuart	George Ramsay	John Stuart/Stewart	Plymouth 9.2.1778	Coast & Bay	Bale Goods	26	99	758
Queen	George Stainforth	Peter Douglas	Plymouth 9.3.1778	Bencoolen	Pepper	26	99	804
Royal Admiral	Sir Richard Hotham	Joseph Hubbard/Huddart	Portsmouth 27.4.1778	Bombay	Pepper	26	99	903
Royal George	Thomas Thomas	Thomas Foxall	Plymouth 2.2.1778	Coast & China	China Cargo	26	99	758
Shrewsbury	John Raymond	John Coggan	Portsmouth 7.3.1778	Coast & Bay	Bale Goods	26	99	676

[1] Sailed as First Mate under Charles Chisholme and subsequently assumed command.

Sources: E/1/65, Letters Received July-Dec 1779, items 278a-278b; C. Hardy and H. C. Hardy, *passim*.

While the high figures for 1708-9 may well be explained by the War of the Spanish Succession, it is evident that the town's seaborne trade was increasing over time. Ships were leaving for Boston, Gibraltar, Jamaica, Lisbon, New York and Ostend, while others were arriving from Amsterdam, Cork, Danzig, Guernsey, Lisbon, Rouen, Virginia and the Baltic ports. How much of the evident flurry of activity in these years related to trade with India? The Port Books examined to date show both shipments out to India and the transhipment of Asiatic imports, admittedly on a somewhat modest scale. In March 1709 Benjamin Dursey shipped out five chests of coins for the Company in Bombay, four aboard the *New George* and the fifth aboard the *Tankerville*. In the following month J. Collins dispatched a similar amount for the Company. In February 1720 Thomas Blackley, at that time the Company's local agent, shipped out brassware and a case of leather goods for his employers, sending a second case aboard the *Darby*, skippered by Captain John Fitzhugh.

Members of the local merchant community also transhipped oriental items. In May 1709, for example, John Gawler, acting on Richard Gideon's behalf, shipped out a chest of taffetas, some chintzes and a quantity of raw silk imported by the Company in the previous September. That November G. Auboineau sent out, aboard the *Barcelona*, various items on behalf of John James Ceret - two cases containing calico, lengths of muslin and 14 dozen pairs of men's worsted stockings. On the 23rd of the same month merchant prince Thomas Missing shipped out calico, muslins, a box of spices and a trunk containing 60 hats aboard the *Princess Anne*, bound for Virginia. In mid-December of that year John Gawler sent out calicoes and muslins aboard the *Drake* of London for Boston. What has yet to be determined, however, is whether these enterprising merchants purchased from Company warehouses in London, or from their counterparts in Portsmouth.

While some of the Company's incoming cargo was unloaded at Portsmouth, the bulk was destined for London. Even so, it should nevertheless be apparent how tempting a prize a returning fleet was. The potential booty, whether for North African corsairs, Spanish privateers in 1748, or emboldened American privateers in 1777 and 1778, was substantial. Just how substantial becomes apparent when the detail of cargoes is considered, a sample of which is set out in Table 8 on page 13. With such cargoes aboard, protection of incoming trading fleets was a prime naval and Company concern, particularly in periods of war. Just as contemporaries had earlier fretted for news of the Smyrna Fleet's safe arrival off the Isle of Wight, so in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries there was concern for fleets from the East. Writing from the Admiralty in late August 1805 Lord Barham made the significance of such movements crystal clear:

> As the East and West India fleets expected within these ten days are of the immense value of ten millions... I wish you may be able to contrive it so as to spare four ships and a frigate to cruise in the Channel for about ten days, for the preservation of these convoys, ... The safety of these fleets must be our first object, and as soon as they have got within the Channel we shall be able to make you strong in all quarters.[41]

Intimately bound up with shipping cargoes was the key issue of the Company's monopoly position. Elizabeth I's original charter, granted to the Company on 31 December 1600, had stipulated enjoyment of a fifteen-year monoply on all trade east of the Cape of Good Hope, subject to Crown determination, a right which the Directors came to guard jealously. With European trading rivals such as the Danes, Dutch, French, Portuguese and Swedes also involved in the lucrative trade, the Company was put on its mettle. As the eighteenth century progressed, however, and more powers became involved, even if only notionally, in Eastern trade, Company suspicions degenerated into feelings of persecution. Company correspondence took careful cognizance of the latest information on the subject, whether it was the King of Prussia's approval of 'a Plan for an Oriental Company projected to be established at Lentzen upon the Elbe' or Spain's growing interest after 1783. In that same year, the Triestine Society sent the *Cobentzel*, skippered by an Hungarian and five English officers who 'have made themselves Austrian Subjects' to the Malabar Coast and China, and word reached England that the newly-liberated Bostonians were 'fitting out a Ship for China, their Plan is not as yet entirely digested'.[42] Was it any wonder that the Company's directorate felt they could see enemies whichever way they looked?

India in the Eighteenth Century: Trading Posts.
P. A. Magrath

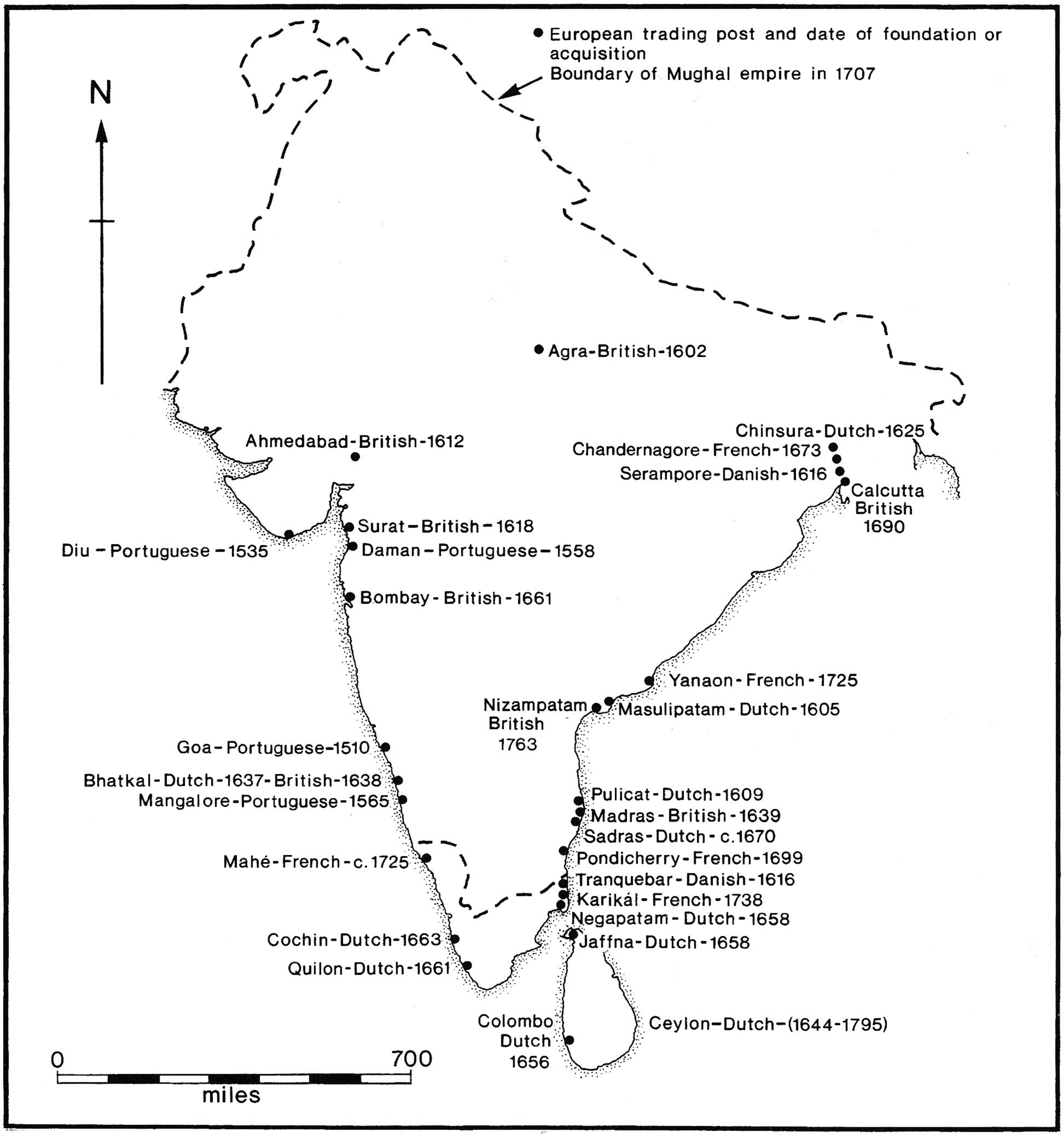


Table 8
Sample of Indiamen Docking at London, 1765-7

Date	Vessel	Cargo							
		China Ware	Cotton Yarn	Pepper	Piece Goods	Raw Silk	Redwood	Saltpetre	Tea
Sept 1765	*Vansittart*				Large Quantity	30,600lb	65,500lb	675,000lb	
Nov 1765	*Calcutta*		1,600lb	374,000lb	31,389		67,500lb	600,400lb	
Sept 1766	*Kent*		2,700lb		Quantity Unspecified	32,100lb	67,500lb	562,500lb	
June 1767	*Hampshire*	11 Chests 62 Half Chests 1 Box				9,700lb			748,400lb
July 1767	*Plassey*	5 Chests 65 Half Chests 1 Box				9,600lb			684,600lb
July 1767	*Duke of Kingston*	3 Chests 47 Half Chests 1 Box				9,200lb			645,100lb

Sources: Adapted from *Gentlemans Magazine*, XXXV (1765), pp. 439, 535; XXXVI (1766), p. 436; XXXVII (1767), pp. 379, 380, 381.

In this respect, Company action against those seeking to undermine its monopoly becomes all the more understandable. When merchant Manoel Dormido sought permission to send out bullion in the form of Spanish plate to merchants in Goa 'from whom I hope to receive valuable effects by English ships trading to Surat and other parts of the Indies', his request was abruptly denied.[43] The Company always took firm action against anybody who tried to break into its trade, whatever form that incursion took. Such people, known as 'interlopers', were dealt with firmly. The case of the *Andaluzia*, which had arrived in Portsmouth early in 1687, was typical. Ship, crew and cargo were all detained, a High Court of Admiralty action heard and the Company's agent at Hugli in India informed soon afterwards: 'you need not fear of hearing of any more English interlopers in India during this Generation.'[44] In an attempt to eradicate illicit trading activity on outward-bound vessels, the Company sent two officials, John Shore and John Long, to Portsmouth in January 1710. Their responsibility was to

> examine the Waiters Books who belong to each of the outward bound Ships to see what Private Trade Goods have been put on Board each Ship And that they take out such Goods as they shall find on every of the said Ships which have been brought aboard without due Licence And advise the Company from time to time of their Proceedings.[45]

Company agent Blackley and local Customs officers were expected to offer every assistance possible. In fact, the London officials' task was to be twofold, for they were also to check that ships were adequately stored and provisioned before leaving Portsmouth.

No matter the degree of vigilance from both Company and Customs officials, however, smuggling commodities into Portsmouth, Portsea Island and the neighbourhood continued. What alarmed authorities was the brazen nature of such activity. During the eighteenth century attempts were made to bring in a range of items illicitly, including gold, tea, cloth and diamonds. On 24 May 1732 when the *Caesar* commanded by Captain Mabbot and the *Macclesfield* commanded by Captain Hudson arrived at Portsmouth, eight customs officers were placed aboard each vessel to ensure no smuggling took place. Even so Mr Flower, a passenger, managed to come ashore that night carrying 126oz of gold.[46] During summer 1739 several attempts were thwarted. Between them, the local Customs Collector and Comptroller gave a good account of what had happened in the case of 'fifteen Gold Shoes ... concealed in the pocket of a Gentelman on board the Winchester, who attempted to Run the same out of the Ship when lying at Portsmouth'. But vigilance did not necessarily bring swift rewards for local Customs officers:

> We beg leave to acquaint your Honours that with our Letter of the 11: of November last, We transmitted a State of the

Chinese Cup and Saucer, typical of the goods brought into Portsmouth from the East. The items were recovered in 1985 from the Geldermalsen, *which sank in 1752.*
J. H. Thomas

> Case relating to a Seizure of East Indian Gold made by Mr Baskerville and at the 4 of July last, and on this occasion, We beg leave to Observe, that by Your Hon(ou)rs Letter dated the 13th of the said Month of July it appears, that the East India Company had promised to gratify the Officers but as yet they have received no reward and therefore in Justice to the Officers, We think ourselves obliged to acquaint your Honours, that their behaviour was such as well entitles them to a very handsome reward, and indeed the Seizure was very considerable being little less in value than six Hundred pounds.[47]

Attempts were also made to smuggle in tea. In October 1725 the Newcastle collier brig *Mary*, skippered by James Waters, was known to have 5-6 cwt of tea ' in her hid under the Coals'. The Customs authorities were alerted and a detailed description provided of the vessel.[48] There was some success in curbing the problem. In August 1773 the Portsmouth-based cutter *Princess Caroline* came in with a 'Large seizure of liquor and India goods'.[49] In May 1784 the *Africa*, a three-year-old third rate, brought in the aptly named lugger *Lander* with 88 casks of liquor and a quantity of tea aboard.[50] Transhipment, a device employed so that goods appeared not to have actually arrived on an Indiaman, was resorted to frequently. It would explain the four pieces of muslin run out of the *Rochester*, richly laden from the Bay of Bengal, at Portsmouth. It certainly explained the 29 pieces of Indian silk in a canvas bag seized on board the *Shoreham*, in May 1739, 'Supposed to be Run from the Queen Caroline East India Shipp...'[51] In at least one instance, in August 1775, a passenger,

Mr Stracey on the *Sea-Horse*, simply stepped ashore carrying a small box 'said to contain Diamonds'.[52] Given the vigilance and thoroughness of shore officers, this is only to be wondered at.

Incoming goods, whether arriving legally or illegally, had an impact upon local lifestyles. The effect was socially selective, wealthier Portmuthians being able to afford the unusual and more exotic items. Supplies of tea reached Portsmouth in three ways - by being smuggled in, being landed legally or being unloaded at London and then brought down by road. While some contemporaries had grave moral doubts about tea consumption and while smuggled amounts are unquantifiable, there is evidence to show mid-eighteenth century activity on more than a few occasions when illicit supplies were hidden in Portsmouth houses. By the late 1780s tea imports were running ahead of consumption by two million pounds weight (18m. to 16m.) and the Company's Accountant General estimated that if this continued and 'if the ships should arrive as expected' the Company's warehouses would have 23m. lb of unsold tea on 1 December 1790.[53] In mid-August 1800 Mr Miller offered for sale at the *Lord Howe's Head*, near Queen Street, Portsea, a quantity of teas - Campols, Souchongs and Congous - obtained from the Company's last sale, pointing out that the excise laws would 'not permit the Proprietor to take them back to London'. For the benefit of families, they would be offered in 2, 3 and 6lb. lots, while local shopkeepers were advised that they now had an opportunity 'of being supplied much cheaper than in London'.[54] Availability in Portsmouth and Hampshire at large was dependent upon local merchants and agents for tea distribution, details of whom are tabulated below.

Table 9
Hampshire Agencies for London-Based Tea Concerns

	1819	1822
Alton	-	Mr Moore
Andover	Ann Maud, Bookseller	Mr Vidler
Christchurch	C. Ridout	-
Fareham	J. Rossiter	-
Gosport	-	Mr Hammond
Havant	-	Mr Godden, Druggist
Lymington	J. Hiscocks, High Street	-
Newport	R. Tucker, High Street	-
Petersfield	-	Mr Fleetwood
Portsmouth	W. Pierce	Mrs Luscombe
Ringwood	J. Benson	-
Romsey	T. Skeats	-
Southampton	J. Webb, Confectioner, High Street	Mr Thompson
Winchester	H. Todd	Mr Earl, Druggist

Sources: *Hampshire Telegraph*, 1028, 21 June 1819; 1188, 15 July 1822.

Note:
The 1819 agents worked for the London Genuine Tea Company, the 1822 ones for Long and Co. Vacant agencies in 1822 were also noted for Cowes, Fordingbridge, Kingsclere, Portsea, Ryde and Titchfield.

But local lifestyles were not affected simply by the availability of tea. By the early 1780s, and possibly before, an East Indian Muslin Warehouse was located at 26, Broad Street, from where a range of items, both wholesale and retail, were available 'cheaper than in any other part of England...'[55] The premises were used in January 1782 for the sale of a wide range of materials from the British Isles by Mr Young from London who offered a ten per cent discount to any 'lady or gentleman taking a piece or pieces of Dutch Holland, or muslin, ...' Certainly money was available locally to pay for what, at times, could be expensive items. In January 1806 one customer reportedly paid £50 13*s*. for an Indian shawl at a custom house sale in Portsmouth. [56] Items saved from wrecked East Indiamen were also sold off locally. Early in December 1798 the outward-bound Indiaman *Henry Addington*, laden with bale goods, and a substantial quantity of dollars 'got ashore' on Bembridge Ledge, where her main yard and mizen mast were cut away. Naval assistance, in the form of a shere vessel from Portsmouth, was provided, the money and part of the cargo saved, but a dozen or so crewmen were lost. Local agent Andrew Lindegren, who had energetically provided 'every possible assistance', paid Lt William Syme 20 gns. for his assistance and for coping with an accident that befell him while assisting the stricken vessel. Over three years later, salvaged items were auctioned off in Portsmouth. The sale, organised by Lindegren, took place at the *Star and Garter* on 2 July 1802 and items for sale included 1,200 bars of iron, 27 guns, two anchors, sheet copper and ship's stores.[57]

There were other effects as well. Chinaware appeared in local people's homes. At her death in September 1668 widow Ann Willard's possessions had included a necklace of 'Correll and garnetts' valued at 1*s*. 6*d*., 'one Case of Indyan dishes' valued at 3*s*. and 'a necklace of Aggetts and garnetts' worth 4*s*.[58] Greater incentive was also given to the sale of books, as works on Eastern travel became increasingly popular. Literature on travel and exploration was stocked extensively by Portsmouth's enterprising booksellers. In 1800 discerning local readers could purchase M. Symes' *An Account of an Embassy to the Kingdom of Ava*, a three-volume work commissioned by the Company. In the early nineteenth century they could obtain locally accounts of a journey by the Persian, Mirza Abu Taleb Khan, through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor to Constantinople, and of a recent embassy to China. Company agent Lindegren subscribed to *The Voyage of Governor Phillip to Botany Bay* (1789), and bookseller J. C. Mottley in January 1800, to the proposed *Asiatic Annual Register*.[59] Blake, Parry and Kingsbury, booksellers to the Company, advertised their specialised works on the Company through the

Advertisement for some of Andrew Lindegren's trading activities in 1801.
Hampshire Telegraph, 97, 17 August 1801

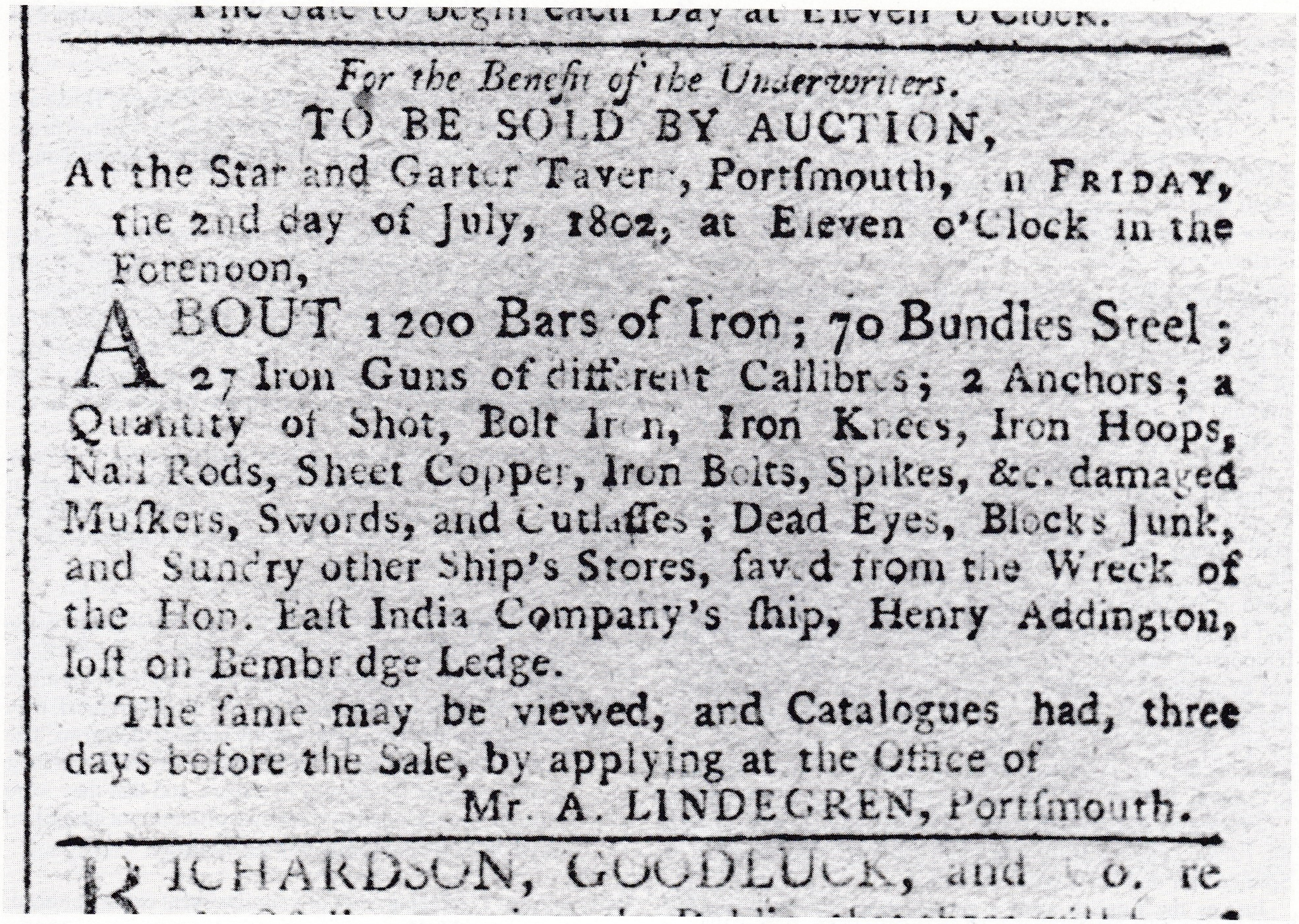
local press.[60] Commodities may also have reached Portsmouth in a circuitous, indirect fashion. Some oriental wares, offloaded in Denmark, were then shipped to the Isle of Man warehouses of leading merchant Nathanial Bacon. Given the trading links between Douglas and Portsmouth, such a route was not beyond the bounds of possibility, though the amount coming that way was probably only small.[61]

It was not, however, only employment and lifestyles in Portsmouth that were affected by the East India Company. Prior to the 1857 Mutiny, the Company ran its own army and Portsmouth served as a major embarkation point for its various expeditionary forces. To ensure that appropriate arrangements were made during the Seven Years' War (1756-63) and the Revolutionary and Napoleonic struggles (1793-1815), two Directors would be sent down to oversee preparations. In April 1760 George Steevens and Giles Rooke were sent; in May it was the turn of John Harrison and Richard Warner. Their brief was 'to give the proper directions for and to regulate the embarkation of the Troops designed for the East Indies'. Archibald Campbell and James Irwin were sent to discharge similar instructions in March 1796. But although they were on hand, they often had to refer to London for final decisions.[62] Great care was taken over military embarkation preparations. From Portsmouth on 7 June 1781 Lt Colonel James Stuart of the 78th Regiment of Foot wrote to the Directors complaining of inadequate lighting for outward-bound troops:

> The lower deck which the troops are on being perfectly dark Renders it necessary for Lantherns with Candles to be fournished for the Soldiers to burn between Decks. Permitt me to request that the Captains of the different ships may be directed to provide Latherns and Candles for the above purpose.[63]

Humanitarianism alone did not motivate such actions. The need for swift embarkation was appreciated, as Lord Amherst ex-

Advertisement for sale in 1802 of items recovered from the Indiaman Henry Addington.
Hampshire Telegraph, 140, 14 June 1802



The Sale to begin each Day at Eleven o'Clock.

For the Benefit of the Underwriters.

TO BE SOLD BY AUCTION,

At the Star and Garter Tavern, Portſmouth, on FRIDAY, the 2nd day of July, 1802, at Eleven o'Clock in the Forenoon,

ABOUT 1200 Bars of Iron; 70 Bundles Steel; 27 Iron Guns of different Callibres; 2 Anchors; a Quantity of Shot, Bolt Iron, Iron Knees, Iron Hoops, Nail Rods, Sheet Copper, Iron Bolts, Spikes, &c. damaged Muſkets, Swords, and Cutlaſſes; Dead Eyes, Blocks Junk, and Sundry other Ship's Stores, ſaved from the Wreck of the Hon. Eaſt India Company's ſhip, Henry Addington, loſt on Bembridge Ledge.

The ſame may be viewed, and Catalogues had, three days before the Sale, by applying at the Office of

Mr. A. LINDEGREN, Portſmouth.

RICHARDSON, GOODLUCK, and Co. re

plained in December 1781, when the 101st Regiment (Sandford's) was waiting at Portsmouth for shipment to India:

> ... it is very much to be wished that proper Orders were given for their being embarked on board the East India Ships where they would be secure, but so long as they remain on Shore Desertions will happen, the Men become irregular knowing they are to be embarked, and experience proves that when Regiments know they are to be embarked, the best for the Service is to put them on board as early as possible ...[64]

Troops were raised locally for the Company. Late in the summer of 1707 James Cross and Abraham Hoyle, bound for Bencoolen but detained in Portsmouth, used their time in enlisting troops for Company service:

> they may entertain as many Soldiers as they can meet with during the Ships stay at Spithead and ... may apply to Mr Cooper for such money as they have occasions for towards raising Soldiers.[65]

Two year later, the newly-appointed Governor of St Helena sought Company permission to recruit in the town as he waited for his ship. Whether his request was granted, however, is unclear.[66] By the 1780s the Company retained a recruiting officer in Portsmouth:

> VOLUNTEERS that are able and willing to serve the HON. United EAST-INDIA COMPANY for the space of Five Years only, as SOLDIERS, at St. Helena, or any of their settlements in India, their pay is 10d. per day,and when in camp 1s. 8d., with liberty to return to England at the end of five years. Each Man will have a copy of his agreement, signed by a Justice of the Peace to take with him. Let them immediately repair to the Company's Re-

cruiting Officer at the Crown and Swan, Green Row, Portsmouth, where each Volunteer shall enter into present pay, or free quarters, and when on board shall be fitted out with clothing, bed and bedding, with Half a Guinea in money at the Company's expence. All Men are desired to come perfectly sober. No Apprentices or Militia Man will be taken, if known to be such. Men from 16 to 20 years of age, 5 feet 3 inches; from 20 to 30, 5 feet 6 inches, will be taken.[67]

There were occasions, however, when recruiting officers were over-zealous. In March 1786 the duke of Richmond, as Colonel of the Sussex Regiment of militia, requested the release of three of his men who had been recruited under false names in Portsmouth. He pointed out succinctly, but forcefully, that 'such inlistings' were 'contrary to Law'.[68]

In some respects recruitment into, and desertion from, the Company's land forces went hand in hand. While outgoing vessels nearly always carried a small percentage of Hampshire-born soldiers, the rank and file of the Company's army was, to say the least, disparate. After 1700 it included respited convicts, men lured in by substantial premiums, deserters from line regiments and volunteers. Troops were also recruited in Ireland, a practice temporarily halted in 1760, perhaps because it was being carried out by a court-martialled ex-naval officer and a London prize-fighter called Sille.[69] From Scotland came growing numbers of troops. In April and May 1760 agent George Huish spent £12 assisting the wives and dependants of Highlanders in their return to London. In June 1780 recruits for Lord MacLeod's Regiment - 12 sergeants and drummers and 157 rank and file - went aboard the *Tartan Letter of Marque* at Leith and were shipped direct to Spithead for onward transfer to India.[70]

Just as the English army's composition was anything but English in the eighteenth century, so the same was true of Company forces. Palatinate refugees and Swiss forces, renowned as fine warriors, fought for the Company. In the 1750s Swiss troops were engaged for seven years at a time, with a £10 bonus 'upon engaging to serve 5 Years more'. England's acquisition of a German ruler in 1714 had made Company land forces even more polyglot. A closer relationship with Hanover and Hesse widened recruitment possibilities. Furthermore, petty princedoms and individual cities were also attracted by recruiting possibilities. German troops recruited by Baron Eichbegg and Ensign Wittman in the late 1770s were sent round from Gravesend to the waiting *Stafford* Indiaman at Portsmouth. A Mr Frederick recruited 184 men for Company service from Hamburg in 1772, while experienced individual officers also offered their services. Ferdinand, duke of Brunswick, approved a plan for recruiting from his state in 1770, while a mysterious aristocrat known only as Count Theodore received a roving Company brief to deal with European courts for recruitment purposes.[71] The effect of such troops descending on Portsmouth, therefore, was tantamount to turning it into a Tower of Babel. Late in December 1786, for instance, it was reported from London that:

> Two thousand troops belonging to the Prince of Hesse are embarked at Portsmouth, to be sent to the East-Indies in the service of the Company, to sail with the outward-bound spring fleet.[72]

Such was the press of numbers at times that the Company gave serious thought and attention to establishing a recruiting and training depot in the area. In 1786 the Company was licensed to recruit and train in the Isle of Wight, provided numbers involved did not exceed 2,000. Both Carisbrooke Castle and Hilsea Barracks were surveyed for the purpose, and though a depot was eventually established at Newport, its usage proved to be short-lived.[73]

Portsmouth's role as a major departure point for Company vessels and troops encouraged development of a further facet of town life - the final opportunity to mutiny. In February 1760, and again in April 1765, Company troops mutinied in the town. On 27 February 1760:

> The regiment of Col. La Fausile, being drawn up on the parade at Portsmouth, in order to be embarked for the East-Indies, laid down their arms and refused to go on board; but being reminded of the consequences of such refusal, they were afterwards embarked quietly without their arms. The reasons they assigned for the disobedience were, that their stoppages were 20 months in arrears, and that they were not to be commanded by their own officers, not above two of whom were to embark along with them.[74]

Early in April 1765 came news of a similar event out at Spithead:

> Twenty soldiers on board the Speaker Indiaman having seized the waterman's boat, were intercepted by boats from the men of war at Spithead, who carried them back, where being all put in irons, the rest of the soldiers, in order to release their companions and themselves, formed a conspiracy to seize the arm chest, kill all the crew that opposed them, cut the cables, run the ship on shore, and make their escape; but being overheard, the ringleaders were seized, put in irons, and afterwards carried to the gangway and lashed. This is the third mutiny that has happened amongst the East-India Company's soldiers, on board their outward bound ships, since the beginning of this year. On these occasions much blood has been spilt, and some lives lost.[75]

Then, in 1783, came the most serious of all the Company's mutinies - that of the 77th Atholl Highlanders. Raised by John, 4th duke of Atholl from his Highland estates, the men, recruited for

three years or the duration of the American War, were marched to Portsmouth under orders for the East Indies. When, however, news of peace with the American colonists became public knowledge the troops mutinied, took the parade guard-house and an armed struggle erupted. What followed was described as 'one of the greatest scenes of confusion ... that ever was remembered in that town ... In short, the whole was a scene of the utmost drunkenness, riot, and confusion'. Unusually, the regiment was broken up on the spot, rather than being disbanded at Perth, and the men were left to make their own way back home. Serious questions were raised in the Commons. Locally, the event lingered on in folk memory, helped by a 27-verse ballad entitled 'The Atholl Highlanders' Triumph, or General Murray and Colonel Gordon's Lamentations'.[76] Portmuthians heaved a sigh of relief once the mutiny was contained, only to be subjected to still more violence two months later when the crews of the *Speedy* and the *Marquis de Seignally*, ordered to covoy the West Indies fleet, mutinied and 'paraded about the streets with bludgeons, in a tumultuous manner, to the great dread of the inhabitants ...'[77]

To these oppressive episodes could be added stresses and strains resulting from recruitment into the Company's marine service. Constant friction between the naval and Company authorities, wage differentials and the adoption of desperate measures when both services were short of hands, engendered a fraught relationship at times. In September 1770, for instance, press gangs boarded merchantmen in Portsmouth and 'stripped them of all the hands they thought useful, before it was known in the town'.[78] Nor was the problem simply confined to the harbour area. In 1719 the homeward-bound Indiaman *Cardonell* was shadowed by a press smack all the way from Portsmouth to the Downs, the naval anchorage off the Kent coast. There Mawson, the Captain 'expressed his willingness to let him have most of them, provided he would supply him with others to bring the Ship in safety to her Moorings in the River ... Thames'.[79] Problems and friction arose from sham seamen entering Company service, wage payments, and deserters jumping ship at Portsmouth.

It was during periods of war, however, that relations were strained to the limit, the Navy and Company acting as anything but responsible services. Rather was their behaviour more akin to indulgence in childhood games. Desperate times, it was argued, justified desperate measures. In July 1729, for example, admittedly a period of peace, it was reported that:

> several Officers of his Majestys Ships have lately impressed Men from some of the Company's homeward bound Ships, and committed several Irregularities in the doing thereof, whereby the said Ships have been exposed to danger.[80]

During the War of the Austrian Succession, the Seven Years' War and that against the American colonists, manning problems became acute. Company concern was exemplified in the dire warning received from five captains in March 1741. Unless something was done to reduce the problem of pressing 'we shall not be able to Man our Ships, which we thought it our Duty to Acquaint Your Honours with ...' At the same time, the naval authorities warned Company Secretary Christopher Mole to keep Company crews aboard their vessels 'for if they should be found stragling, they will be imprest as the Men are who belong to other Ships'.[81] In the approach to the Seven Years' War Portsmouth and Plymouth press officers were instructed that pressed hands had to be replaced by them to bring Company vessels 'in safety to ... the River Thames'. When press gangs seized Company recruits, as happened in London in March 1759, a tit for tat game developed. Mr Shooter, mate of the *Dalawarr* Indiaman, took matters into his own hands, snatched six crewmen from the *Edgar* and 'Secreted them in a house at Gosport'. Irate Admiralty Lords pressed for Shooter's immediate dismissal 'to deter others from being guilty of the like'. Vice-Admiral Holburne complained from Portsmouth about such activity:

> This is so intollerable a Practice for these Ships to come here short of Men when there is enough to be got in London to distress the Service that is protecting them that I can't help mentioning it to their Lordships; The last India Ships that were here did the same (and) gave them Ten Guineas Bounty, and now Captains Lockart, and Clevland have lost three of their Boats Crew, all I can do is to order a Cutter and an Officer to attend on that Ship 'til she sails, and then go out to the back of the Isle of Wight with them; Can't the India Company direct that all their Ships may be mann'd before they come here and not to rob us in the manner they do of our Men.[82]

During the 1775-83 struggle, inter-service tension worsened still further. A long-distance campaign against determined foes who were supported by European powers, the designs *those* powers had on Portsmouth, and American ability to bring the war home to England with psychologically damaging privateering raids, led the Admiralty to conclude that 'the want of Seamen for his Majesty's Ships at this important Crisis ... made it necessary to impress ... Men'.[83] The Admiralty did, however, agree to the subsequent release of men pressed from four Company vessels moored at Spithead. Their details are tabulated on the following page:

Table 10
Men Pressed from Company Vessels at Spithead, April 1779

Vessel	Name	Rank/Position
Ceres	William Feldon	Armourer
	Peter Lucas	Cooper's Mate
Earl of Sandwich	William Berrycloth	Carpenter's Mate
	Adam Colwell	Cooper's Mate
	John Thomas	Caulker
Hawke	James Gordon	Armourer
	John Hughes	Cooper's Mate
	James Palmer	Carpenter's Mate
	Henry Springall	Carpenter's Mate
Princess Royal	William Chapman	Armourer
	James Forbes	Cooper's Mate
	Richard Haigh	Carpenter's 2nd Mate
	James Hay	Caulker

Source: E/164, Miscellaneous Letters Received Jan.-June 1779, items 108-108A, 133-133A.

Clearly, the navy was short primarily of experienced technical hands. No seaman was listed amongst those pressed and then released at this time.

For technical repair work to its vessels the Company was able, for nearly a century, to use the facilities of Portsmouth's growing dockyard complex. The relationship was such that in 1705 orders could be lodged at the 'Queen's storehouses at Plymouth Portsmouth and the Downes for supplying any Navall stores to the Companys returning Ships which they shall be in great want of'. In September 1708 Humphrey Bryant, commander of the *Europe*, drew on the Company for £102 for cable and an anchor supplied to him at Portsmouth. Damage to his vessel by a naval craft eighteen months later resulted in his inability to 'get Stores at Portsmouth Except out of the Queens Yard and an Order for the same must be gotten from the Lords ... of the Admiralty or the officers there can't deliver them'.[84] Given that the yard was coping with wartime demands occasioned by the Spanish Succession struggle, such a stance was not unreasonable. It was during the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-48), however, that relations between the Company and the navy changed. Until the mid-1740s the naval authorities handled the demands made upon them with ease, simply insisting that the Company pay for work done and materials supplied. When the *Nottingham* and the *Caesar* were replenished with masts and stores in spring 1740 they were provided 'upon the Owners paying for the same'. That September Company Secretary Christopher Mole was informed that homeward-bound Company vessels could call upon the facilities at both Plymouth and Portsmouth, but that efforts would be made to help them only 'as far as the same can be conveniently done with regard to his Majesty's Service'.[85] The *Scarborough* would be taken into a dock in the yard in April 1741 for repair work ' if there is one to spare' and only upon condition of 'the same being paid for'. It was after June 1746, however, that relations between the two services became severely strained. Long-term wartime pressures clearly contributed to this situation. There was also the increasing arrogance that came to characterise the relationship. When a large transport vessel struck the *Princess Amelia*, damaging anchors and cables, the Company peremptorily demanded that losses be made good from naval stores in Portsmouth. In retaliation, minor repairs to four Company vessels at Portsmouth in February 1747 led to naval insistance that directors 'send down as soon as possible to Portsmouth Anchors and Cables of the same Proportion and Goodness with those that the said Ships shall be supplyd with ...'[86] Breaking point had been reached, the navy feeling that excessive demands were being made. Company Secretary Christopher Mole was informed accordingly:

> Their Lordships command me to observe, on this Occasion, that these great Demands from the Company, with relation to this and their Five Ships of Yesterday, will so distress his Majesty's Magazines, that his own Ships must lie in Harbour, for want of their proper Stores, to enable them to go to Sea, by which his Service will greatly suffer, and therefore Request, that so considerable and rich a Company, would think of some other Way to supply their Wants of this kind, especially when they are so large, as to postpone the Service of his Majesty's own Ships, to comply with their desires, which in Strictness cannot be well justified.[87]

The Company clearly took the hint, and by 1760 had developed repair facilities for itself elsewhere in the town, as well as having acquired or built storehouses for anchors and cables. Described that June as having an 'inconvenient situation', they nevertheless proved their worth the following month when a dockyard fire led to the Company lending the navy two cables which it had in store.[88] For the present, the exact location of these facilities remains something of a mystery, several sites presenting themselves as possibilities. They cannot have been that close to the yard in view of the remark regarding inconvenient situation. The Camber and Point area is a more probable location as it was here that the Company had its storehouses. A third, but less likely, possibility is in Gosport where, by the late 1740s, there was a shipyard capable of producing East Indiamen.[89] By the mid-1780s, and doubtless before, the Company kept regular accounts of stores at Portsmouth, as part of a network arrangement. Details of locations and values involved are tabulated opposite:

Table 11
East India Company Stores 1785-1793

Depot	1785	1792	1793
Cock Hill, London	-	-	£1,162 16*s.* 6*d.*
Deal	-	-	£1,261 7*s.* 7*d.*
Falmouth	-	-	£20 1*s.* 3*d.*
Greenwich	-	-	£320 8*s.* 0*d.*
Plymouth	-	£247 1*s.* 11*d.*	
Portsmouth	£455 3*s.* 10*d.*	-	£272 6*s.* 0*d.*

Sources: L/AG/1/1/25, General Ledger July 1785-June 1789, f.157; L/AG/1/1/26, General Ledger July 1789-June 1793, ff.212, 213.

Anchors and stores for Portsmouth were either purchased from local tradesmen and suppliers or shipped round from London. Depletion of the stores in Portsmouth may be explained in part by the *Earl Mansfield's* owners being charged £81 8*s.* 8*d.* for an anchor in June 1786.[90]

Important though the East India Company was to Portsmouth, it was only one of several such ventures that had links with the growing community. Vessels of the rival Dutch East India Company called in regularly. That concern retained an agent in the town. In the years prior to 1788 he just happened to be George Huish (jun.), who supplemented this work with that of being consul for the Dutch government.[91] Repair work on Dutch Company vessels was also carried out in Portsmouth. In July 1761 a Dutch East Indiaman, *en route* to Batavia and damaged off the Flanders coast, was brought to Portsmouth for repairs. The cargo was transferred into an old man-of-war, powder was lodged in the magazine and the ship's weapons stored on the Gun Wharf.[92] And yet a Dutch presence, though it brought extra employment possibilities, was not always welcome in Portsmouth. Though regular in their visits, 50 outward-bound vessels calling between 1700 and 1720 (details are plotted in Appendix B), they invariably induced additional social problems. On Christmas Day 1729, for example, a crewman of the *Papemburgh* complained of the theft of green cushions and other items from the ship's boat. Dutch property, he asserted, had been hidden somewhere in Portsmouth.[93] Desertion was another problem. Five Dutch ships were in Portsmouth between 22 December 1695 and 3 April 1696. Of the crew totals of 662, some 30 deserted. Three ships stayed between 7 August and 14 November 1695. Of the crew totals of 388, some 19 deserted. While these were relatively small percentages, the problem could, on occasion, be much worse. During the *Agatha's* three-month stay in 1693 the master, Dirk Zijp, was shot and 12 seafarers and one soldier deserted. Heavy gales led to the beaching of the outward-bound *Overschie* near Portsmouth on 17 January 1749. Of the 273 people aboard, 242 deserted and the vessel could only continue after a 190-strong crew was sent out from the United Provinces.[94] Health problems were created too. An infected Dutch East Indiaman's arrival at Spithead in November 1770 allegedly 'alarmed the whole city of London'. Some 90 of the 286 crew were fever-ridden, a situation that had already caused the deaths of two local customs officers, sent aboard to report developments. In less than a week the vessel left, much to everyone's relief. Late in November 1772 a similar situation occurred:

> The bodies of two Dutchmen who were thrown overboard from a Dutch Indiaman where a malignant fever raged, were cast up near the Sally-port at Portsmouth; they were in a putrid state and so offensive, that it was with difficulty that any one could be got to bury them.[95]

Portsmouth also had links with the Swedish East India Company, trading between 1731 and 1813. In some ways, the town was better adjusted to Swedish, rather than Dutch, visits. From the mid-1660s onwards Portmuthians had become accustomed to Swedish vessels arriving with their valuable cargoes of pitch, tar and iron. In April 1676 Charles II had sanctioned part payment of a £600 debt to local anchorsmith Henry Beverley in the form of 17 tons of Swedish iron in store at Portsmouth. In 1712 Queen Anne had permitted Crown expenditure on repairs to a Swedish vessel in the yard.[96] The regular importing of naval supplies and of substantial quantities of Baltic timber, ensured that Portsmouth was more than able to cope. That Company agent Andrew Lindegren was himself part Swedish, with extensive business interests and responsibilities in both Portsmouth and Gosport, served to smooth still further the Swedish East India Company's path locally. There were social consquences too, exemplified in the marriage in mid-December 1789 of Mr Rompkey, Captain's clerk on a Swedish East Indiaman, and Miss Allen, a local hatter's daughter, or in that of Sebastian Heeggh, supercargo of the Swedish Indiaman *Prince Gustavus*, and Portsea spinster Sophia Lispcomb in late January 1790.[97] Scandinavian presence, however, as with the Dutch, was not always problem-free for Portsmouth. In April 1790 one Swedish Company vessel collided with the *Gorgon*, a 5th-rate built five years before:

> As the Princess Augusta, Swedish East Indiaman, Captain Claussen, was going out of Portsmouth Harbour to Spithead, she ran foul of the Gorgon of 44 guns, and carried away her head with her sprit-sail and fore-top-sail yards. She came with such force against the Gorgon, as to break the best bower anchor.[98]

Nor did the difficulties stop there. A Swedish mate was committed for trial in late May 1801 for having stolen 25 guineas from his captain.[99] That June the aptly named Captain Schott of the Swedish ship *Charlotte* 'now lying in this port', shot himself in his bed. The verdict returned was that of lunacy.[100]

The East India Company had a major impact upon eighteenth-century Portsmouth. Creating jobs, investment possibilities and

another dimension to the town's permanent state of tension, it also brought more people to the community, people of different hues who could tell of lands far away and of the fabled wealth of the East. At the same time some members of the community, appointed to represent the Company interests, demonstrated their possession of business acumen, determination, reliability and the other characteristics so eagerly sought by the Company in its quest for new agents. For those unable to abide by the law, there were fresh opportunities. Building and ship repair work for the Company brought more money to Portsmouth, some of which could be spent on new and exotic products. To add to such a complex relationship, there were the further dimensions and subtleties brought by the presence of Dutch and Swedish East India Company vessels. Other effects were also to be wrought by the presence of craft trading on behalf of the Hudson's Bay, Levant and Royal African Companies. But the story of their relationship with Portsmouth has yet to be told.

APPENDIX A

East India Company Packets Sailing from Portsmouth 1760-1810

Sailed	Vessel	Tons	Master	Destination
18 November 1761	*London Pacquet*	120	George Baker	Madras
28 March 1764	*Lapwing*	120	John Griffin	Bengal
20 January 1766	*Mercury*	140	Henry Gardiner	Coast & Bay
1 December 1772	*Mercury*	140	John Sharp	Bengal
12 May 1773	*Eagle*	230	Edward Wilson	St Helena & Madras
19 January 1775	*Syren*	250	Joseph Smith	Bencoolen
7 December 1777	*Eagle*	230	Arthur Maxwell	Coast & Bay
19 May 1781	*Greyhound*	150	Robert Anderson	India
7 May 1786	*Swallow*	345	Robert Anderson	Bengal
12 June 1790	*Swallow*	345	George Curtis	Coast & Bay
19 September 1790	*John*	180	John Buchanan	Bengal
18 October 1792	*Swallow*	345	George Curtis	Coast & Bay
1 October 1792	*Tartar*	230	Timothy Goldsmith	Bengal
13 November 1795	*Dart*	250	Robert Grey	St Helena & Bengal
23 January 1796	*Georgiana*	285	John Luard	St Helena & Bengal
20 November 1799	*Earl of Mornington*	241	George Simpson	Coast & Bay
28 August 1803	*Georgiana*	285	Henry Leigh	St Helena
15 November 1807	*Georgiana*	285	Henry Leigh	Bengal
4 October 1809	*Georgiana*	285	Henry Leigh	India

Source: C. and H. C. Hardy, *A Register of Ships employed in the Service of the Honourable the United East India Company from the Year 1760 to 1812* (1813), pp.309-11.

APPENDIX B

Batavia-Bound Dutch East India Company Vessels Visiting Portsmouth, 1700-1720

Arrived	Vessel	Tons	Master	Sailed
22 January 1701	*Drieberen*	616	Dirk Krijne	7 March 1701
23 January 1701	*Eikelenburg*	320	Gerrit Hittens	7 March 1701
25 January 1703	*Vecht*	626	Arnoldus Van Der Straten	28 January 1703
3 January 1704	*Prins Eugenius*	874	Klaas Nanningsz Sanderns	17 January 1704
6 January 1704	*Bogaard*	200	Michiel Pietersz Van Parra	17 January 1704
6 January 1704	*Grimmestein*	759	Dirk Krijne	17 January 1704
6 January 1704	*Reigersdaal*	818	Jakob Joppe De Jong	17 January 1704
12 January 1704	*Horstendaal*	688	Joris Vis	16 January 1704
12 January 1704	*Theeboom*	526	Arie Schut	17 January 1704
27 January 1704	*Bogaard**	200	Michiel Pietersz Van Parra	24 February 1704
27 January 1704	*Grimmestein**	759	Dirk Krijne	24 February 1704
27 January 1704	*Reigersdaal**	818	Jakob Joppe De Jong	24 February 1704
4 February 1704	*Horstendaal**	688	Joris Vis	24 February 1704
19 November 1705	*Limburg*	810	Klaas Maas	2 January 1706
4 January 1706	*Baarzande*	786	Ameland Jansz	18 January 1706
4 January 1706	*Beverwaart*	760	Klaas De Vries	18 January 1706
6 January 1706	*Limburg**	810	Klaas Maas	18 January 1706
7 January 1706	*Zuiderburg*	618	Joris Vis	18 January 1706
30 January 1706	*Schellenberg*	630	Dirk Korver	3 February 1706
31 January 1706	*Den Berg*	836	Adriaan Timmerman	3 February 1706
31 January 1706	*Horsten Daal*	688	Arie Schut	3 February 1706
31 January 1706	*Jerusalem*	622	Willem Mina	3 February 1706
7 February 1707	*Arion*	630	Jan Zandvoort	27 February 1707
7 February 1707	*Gamron*	848	Jakob Weiland	27 February 1707
7 February 1707	*T. Ghijn*	810	Paulus Kroon	27 February 1707
7 February 1707	*Huis Te Hemert*	612	Lukas Koertsz Wormer	27 February 1707
7 February 1707	*Hoekek-Enskerke*	830	Jakob Willemsz	27 February 1707
7 February 1707	*Huis Te Loo †*	875	Haye Jansz	27 February 1707
26 October 1707	*Vrijburg*	784	Willem Elshoek	18 March 1708
?	*Amazone*	590	Jan Meerlaan	?
18 January 1709	*Ijsselmonde*	832	Jan De Hooft	27 February 1709
13 January 1711	*Charlois*	632	Hendrik Lont	18 January 1711
17 February 1715	*Duiven-Voorde*	620	Frederik Van Eik	26 February 1715
4 March 1715	*Duiven-Voorde* *	620	Frederik Van Eik	12 March 1715
4 July 1716	*Limburg*	810	Reinier Hijpe	8 July 1716
23 October 1716	*Haringtuin*	618	Aarnoud Van Kleef	9 November 1716
15 October 1717	*Kijkuit*	200	Simon Jansen	25 October 1717
15 October 1717	*Wendela*	600	Arend Etman	25 October 1717
3 November 1717	*Boekenrode*	890	Jan Vorster	14 January 1718
5 November 1717	*Nesserak*	804	Jan Cats	13 November 1717
11 November 1717	*Valkenisse*	1150	Herman Grindet	1 January 1718
11 November 1717	*Raadhuis Van Vlissingen*	600	Pieter Van Genechten	?
7 January 1719	*Slot Aldegonde*	1160	Jan Havelaar	24/26 February 1719
7 January 1719	*Barbestein*	1100	Michiel Landsheeer	24/26 February 1719
7 January 1719	*Cats*	580	Kornelis De Giers	24/26 February 1719
7 January 1719	*Meijenburg*	1180	Jan De Heere	24/26 February 1719

Arrived	Vessel	Tons	Master	Sailed
4 February 1719	*Barneveld*	1008	Jan De Koning	26 February 1719
4 February 1719	*Hogemeer*	470	Jan Reebok	26 February 1719
4 February 1719	*Rijssel*	858	Kornelis De Lange	26 February 1719
4 February 1719	*Spiering*	810	Dirk Haan	26 February 1719
4 February 1719	*Wester Dijkshorn*	1150	Matthijs Want	26 February 1719
3 March 1719	*Wassenaar*	804	Alexander Ad Du Pon	1 April 1719
22 October 1719	*Zoetigheid*	600	Abraham Van Der Ceel	4 November 1719
6 February 1720	*Steenhoven*	850	Jakob Lijnsen	24 February 1720
6 February 1720	*Elisabeth*	1140	Jan Klooster	24 February 1720
2 March 1720	*Steenhoven**	850	Jakob Lijnsen	8 March 1720
2 March 1720	*Elisabeth**	1140	Jan Klooster	8 March 1720
20 April 1720	*Goudrian*	630	Michiel Ruis	25 April 1720

Source: J. R. Bruijn, F. S. Gaastra and I. Schoffer, *Dutch-Asiatic Shipping in the 17th & 18th Centuries* (3 vols. *The Hague, 1979-87), Vol II, passim.*

† Bound for Ceylon
** Forced back by weather*

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[32] *H(ampshire) T(elegraph)*, 4, 4 November 1799; 63, 22 December 1800; 94, 27 July 1801; 97, 17 August 1801; 125, 1 March 1802; 131, 12 April 1802.

[33] PRO, High Court of Admiralty Records 30/36; 30/38. I am obliged to Tony Gutridge for these references. *Steel's Naval Chronologist* (n.d.), pp.1, 2.

[34] PCRO, S13/1, Borough Gaol Rate Book, 1805, n.p.

[35] E/1/1, Miscellaneous Letters Received 1701-1709, f.445; B/76, p.319.

[36] B/56, East India Company Court Minutes April 1720-April 1722, p.453; L/AG/1/1/25, General Ledger July 1785 - June 1789, f.162.

[37] E/1/225 Miscellanies (Home Letters Out), June - August 1786, p.37; B/105, East India Company Court Minutes April - November 1787, pp.1-3.

[38] B/49, pp.503, 508.

[39] *A(nnual) R(egister) for 1767* (5th edn. 1800), p.109.

[40] L/MAR/B/355G, log of *Scarborough*, October 1788 - June 1789, *passim*; L/MAR/B/496A, log of *Lady Penrhyn*, December 1788 - August 1789, *passim.*

[41] Lord Barham to Admiral Cornwallis, 28 August 1805: Sir J K Laughton (ed), *Letters and Papers of Charles, Lord Barham* (3 vols. Navy Records Society 1906-1911), III, p.277.

[42] E/1/73, items 51, 52, 169. *HC*, 45, 28 June 1773 carried rumours of Russian and Prussian intentions.

[43] Dormido, a Jewish merchant, had taken up residence in London in 1654. Ten years later he maintained that he had 'behaved with due obedience to the laws': *Calendar of State Papers Domestic 1661-2*, p.214; *1663-4*, p.672.

[44] Lord Sunderland to Earl of Gainsborough, 14 January 1687: *Calendar of State Papers Domestic January 1686 - May 1687*, p.343; Company to Hugli and to Fort St George, 8 April 1687: *Despatches from England to Fort St George 1686-1692* (1929), *passim.*

[45] B/49, p.900.

[46] Pusey Brooke to Customs Commissioners, 25 May 1732; Thomas Trehearne to Company, 16 June 1732: E/1/23, Miscellaneous Letters Received 1732, ff.80-80a, 93.

[47] Pusey Brooke and Robert Turvin to Com-

pany, 8, 16 June 1739: E/1/28, Miscellaneous Letters Received 1737-9, ff.110-111; E/1/32, Miscellaneous Letters Received 1743-4, item 112.

[48] E/1/16, Miscellaneous Letters Received 1725, ff.124-124a.

[49] *HC*, 51, 9 August 1773.

[50] *Ibid.*, 608, 3 May 1784. The *Africa* was sold off in 1813: T. D. Manning and C. F. Walker, *British Warship Names* (1959), p.72.

[51] *Calendar of Treasury Books 1708-9*, pp.78-9; E/1/28, f.107. Transhipment was a long term problem for both the Company and customs officials. 'R.W.', in reporting an overheard coffee house conversation about smuggling, informed the Company Secretary in October 1713 'there must be great Frauds comitted in their Service': E/1/4, Miscellaneous Letters Received 1712-13, item 338. In April 1766 an anonymous informer, a former smuggler and pilot, offered to halt the trade in smuggled 'India Silks and all manner of India Goods into this Kingdom from the Ports of France and Guernzey': E/1/48, Miscellaneous Letters Received 1766, item 48.

[52] D/149, Auditor's References 1773-1782, f.39.

[53] *GM*, LVI (1786), Pt.II, p.613.

[54] *HT*, 45, 18 August 1800.

[55] *HC*, 490, 14 January 1782.

[56] *HT*, 329, 27 January 1806.

[57] E/1/99, Miscellaneous Letters Received, 1798, f.111; E/1/100, Miscellaneous Letters Received January - June 1799, f.186; *The Times*, 11-14 December 1798; F Mew, *Back of the Wight* (1965), p.61; *HT*, 140, 14 June 1802.

[58] Hampshire Record Office, Probate Records, Archdeacons' Series, 1668 A101/2, inventory dated 28 September 1668.

[59] *HT*, 40, 14 July 1800; 5, 11 November 1799. Maps and atlases were also available from Portsmouth booksellers.

[60] *HT*, 651, 30 March 1812.

[61] Widow Gustmeier and H. F. Bargum, Copenhagen, to J. J. Bacon, Douglas, 26 July 1763: Manx Museum, Douglas, MS. 1653C, Correspondence of J. J. Bacon. Complaints regarding smuggling between the Isle of Man and the mainland were lodged in 1711: Manx Museum, MS. BH4528C, Bridge House papers. Locally caught herrings were shipped from the island to Portsmouth: *The Manks Advertiser*, 6 and 8, 12, 26 September 1800.

[62] B/76, ff.9, 11, 18, 22, 26, 38; B/122, East India Company Court Minutes, October 1795 - April 1796, pp.1481, 1498, 1523-4.

[63] Lt Colonel James Stuart to Company, 7 June 1781: E/1/68, Miscellaneous Letters Received January - June 1781, f.265.

[64] Copy of note from Lord Amherst to Earl of Hilsborough, 10 December 1781: E/1/69, Miscellaneous Letters Received July - December 1781, item 249.

[65] B/48, p.615.

[66] B/49, pp.7, 8, 14.

[67] *Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, 2532, 18 December 1786.

[68] Duke of Richmond to Company, 10 March 1786: E/1/78, Miscellaneous Letters Received January - June 1786, f.147.

[69] E/1/42, Item 1.

[70] E/1/66, Miscellaneous Letters Received January - June 1780, ff.556 and v.

[71] E/1/36, 41, 62, 56, 53, Miscellaneous Letters Received 1751, 1758-9, 1778, 1772, 1770, *passim*. Through Count Theodore's efforts 500 extra soldiers were raised for the Company from the Duchy of Wurtemburg in 1771: *GM*, XLI (1771), p.141. He may perhaps be identified with Theodore, Baron de Luders, Knight of the Holy Roman Empire, who died at Bath 6 December 1774: *GM*, XLIV (1774), p.598.

[72] *Oxford Gazette and Reading Mercury*, 1302, 1 January 1787.

[73] E/1/79, Miscellaneous Letters Received July - December 1786, Pt.I, ff.16, 16v., 124 - v, 149; E/1/80, Miscellaneous Letters Received January - June 1787, ff.427, 428, 432.

[74] *A(nnual) R(egister) for 1760* (7th edn 1789), p.75.

[75] *AR for 1765* (3rd edn 1802), p.78.

[76] *GM*, LIII (1783), Pt.I, pp.89-91; R. Palmer (ed), *The Rambling Soldier* (1977), pp.231-7.

[77] *AR for 1783* (2nd edn 1800), p.199.

[78] *GM*, XL (1770), p.439.

[79] E/1/10, Miscellaneous Letters Received 1719, f.126.

[80] Josiah Burchett to Thomas Mitchell, 29 July 1729: E/1/20, Miscellaneous Letters Received 1729, ff.58-58a.

[81] W. Robson, C. Birkhead, G. Westcold, B. Webster and C. Raymond to Company, 6 March 1741; Josiah Burchett to Christopher Mole, 7 March 1741: E/1/30, Miscellaneous Letters Received 1741, ff.63, 64.

[82] E/1/41, Miscellaneous Letters Received 1758-9, ff.141-160, 161a.

[83] Philip Stephens to Court of Directors, 21 March 1778: E/1/62, Miscellaneous Letters Received January - June 1778, f.87.

[84] B/48 East India Company Court Minutes April 1705 - April 1708, p.33; B/49, pp.173, 176, 886.

[85] E/1/29, Miscellaneous Letters Received 1740, ff.60, 62, 94a-b.

[86] E/1/30, Miscellaneous Letters Received 1741, ff.85, 97; E/1/33, Miscellaneous Letters Received 1745-6, items 16-16a, 96, 99; E/1/34, Miscellaneous Letters Received 1747-8, f.14.

[87] John Clevland to Christopher Mole, 19 February 1747: E/1/34, ff.17a-b.

[88] B/76, East India Company Court Minutes, April 1760 - April 1761, ff.71, 100. The fire, in a yard ropehouse on 3 July 1760, caused £100,000 worth of damage: *GM*, XXX (1760), p.345.

[89] The yard, possibly that of John Darley who went bankrupt in 1748, used timber from Egham in Surrey and employed about 50 hands, including sawyers from Mile End and other Portsea Island communities: PRO, C108/286, Gosport yard pay book 1745-50, *passim*.

[90] L/AG/1/1/25, General Ledger July 1785 - June 1789, f.157.

[91] *GM*, LVIII (1788), p.1129; Records of the Department of Customs and Excise, 58/1.

[92] *Calendar of Home Office Papers 1760-1765*, pp.54-5.

[93] PCRO, S3/93, deposition dated 25 December 1729.

[94] Material drawn from J. R. Bruijn, F. S. Gaastra and I. Schoffer, *Dutch-Asiatic Shipping in the 17th and 18th Centuries* (3 vols. The Hague, 1979-87), Vols. I and II, *passim*.

[95] *AR for 1770* (6th edn 1803), p.162; *GM*, XLII (1772), p.589.

[96] J. R. Tanner (ed), *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Naval Manuscripts in the Pepysian Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge* (Navy Records Society, 1923), IV, p.310; *Cal. TB 1712*, p.110.

[97] *HC*, 900, 21 December 1789; W. J. C. Moens (ed), *Allegations for Marriage Licences issued by the Bishop of Winchester 1689 to 1837* (2 vols. 1893), I, p.367.

[98] *GM*, LX (1790), p.366. The *Gorgon* was sold off in 1817: T D Manning and C F Walker, *op.cit.*, p.213.

[99] *HT*, 86, 1 June 1801.

[100] *HT*, 89, 22 June 1801.

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by James H. Thomas, B.A., Ph.D., F.R.Hist.S.

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